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PICTURE OF A MAN FOR WHOM CHINA REFUSES TO VANISH

Our peripatetic Secretary of State, who will travel 5,000 miles at the drop of a socialist slogan, has been having a running battle with the U. S. news media over the right to send reporters to China. Last week he met with news executives and proposed that a "limited" number of reporters go—presumably to report a limited number of facts. The executives didn't see it his way and the stalemate persists.

SURRENDER ON THE GOLF COURSE

Ike kills chances for civil rights bill with any meaning

By Lawrence Emery

ON THE EVE OF SENATE voting on major amendments to the civil rights bill, the strange new coalition of Northern Republicans and liberal Democrats led by Sen. William F. Knowland (R-Calif.) seemed to be cracking up. Most Democrats were uneasy at being led by the Minority Leader—with the prospect that if a meaningful bill is enacted, the GOP would get the major credit for it.

But the division among proponents of the bill was not based merely on party lines; there were splits within each party. A small core in each was for adopting the measure intact without weakening amendments. Others were for watering it down to make it acceptable to the hard core of Dixie rebels who remained firm against any civil rights bill at all.

First vote came on July 22 on an amendment offered by Sens. Knowland and Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) to repeal an old statute authorizing the President to use Federal troops in enforcing Federal court civil rights decrees. The amendment was adopted unanimously by a vote of 90 to 0. The repealed law was a part of the bill's controversial Part III.

MOST EMBARRASSING: Many blamed the disunity of the Northern coalition on the absence of a firm stand by the White House. In a recent press conference the President confessed that he didn't know what was in the bill, and at a later one admitted that parts of it are too strong for him.

On the evening of July 16 the White House issued a mimeographed press release—while the President was playing golf—which seemed to be support for the measure as it had passed in the House. But the next morning the President expressed disagreement with some parts of it. In the Senate Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) sought to use the previous day's press release in support of the bill and had to be informed that the President had in effect repudiated it that morning. Said Douglas:

"Frankly, I believe we should have a discussion of this subject for several days, until the full meaning of Part III is brought out. If we discuss it for several days, we may be able to convince the President that he should return to his position of yesterday and go back on his disavowal of this morning. I say that because, very frankly, it leaves those of us who support the President's program in a very embarrassing position; whenever we rise to defend the Administration, the rug is pulled out from under our feet by the Administration. . . . It is a very embarrassing situation."

WHERE THE BLAME LIES: Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.) had more to say: "If the present extremely modest civil rights bill is frittered away in compromises and weakening amendments,

(Continued on Page 6)

BURCHETT WRITES ON THE SHAKEUP

Moscow: A change for the better seen

By W. G. Burchett

Special to the Guardian

MOSCOW (By Air) July 10

MORE THAN anything else, the manner in which Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovitch were removed from the Presidium of the U.S.S.R., and the events leading up to the removal, have convinced Westerners in Moscow that things have greatly changed here—and changed for the better.

The charge that five of the 11 members of the Presidium opposed the Khrushchev group's proposals on every major issue of foreign and domestic policy made the opposition seem formidable. But when the issues were put before the much broader Plenum of the CP Central Committee, the Malenkov group seems to have been completely isolated.

THE KREMLIN TOWER: One of the most frequent accusations at the various factory meetings after the shakeup is that the group had remained out of touch with reality, that they had apparently locked themselves up in a sort of Kremlin ivory tower. Khrushchev, Bulganin, Mikoyan, Voroshilov and other proponents of the "new look" introduced by the 20th Congress, have been moving around inside and outside of the country and are presumably well informed on public opinion at home and abroad.

In a tour of all the Eastern European countries, except Albania, last year, I found that although the 20th Congress decisions were hailed in the press of these countries as being enormously important, in fact the new democratization either was going very slowly or had never even got started.

If the Malenkov group had been in touch with public opinion here and abroad, they would have known it was impossible to turn the clock back. The Khrushchev leadership is popular because it has delivered the goods. The milk, meat and butter is already there and an enormous housing drive is going on. It is generally accepted that Khrushchev gave a hearty kick in the stomach to rigidity and dogmatism and got down to the job of raising living standards.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED: He has not

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WORLD'S SCIENTISTS SOUND A WARNING

Pugwash: Keynote is survival

By Elmer Bendiner

THREE YEARS AGO British philosopher Bertrand Russell, the late Albert Einstein and eight other scientists proposed a conference to assess the dangers of the split atom. Scientists from all over the world were to shatter political curtains and assemble in India as guests of the Indian Science Congress. But in a world spending billions for bombs the scientists' carfare could not be raised.

Early this month, though Einstein was dead and Russell too ill to attend, the projected conference was held in a spot as far removed as possible from cold war intrigues—a lobstering village in Nova Scotia called Pugwash.

The keynote was sounded by Lord Russell in an article in the British journal, **The New Scientist**, last March. In it he called for banning the Bomb tests because "I do not wish to be an accomplice in a vast atrocity which threatens the world with overwhelming disaster."

A PLACE OF LEARNING: The site of this month's little-noted conference was a plain Masonic Lodge that doubles as a schoolroom. The carfare came from Cyrus Stephen Eaton of Cleveland, who has said: "A man's first moral obligation is to earn his living and his second is to be intelligent." He has from time to time used some of the proceeds from his $150,000,000 industrial combine to bring together the world's keenest minds. On July 7 Eaton brought 22 of them to his private "thinkers' retreat" at Pugwash, where he lived as a boy.

Eminent physicists came from the U.S., the U.S.S.R., the China mainland, Japan, Britain, France, Poland, Australia, Austria and Canada. They spoke only for themselves, not for their governments. They met privately and agreed that each

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THE MAIL BAG

What don't go up . . .

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The most optimistic scientists believe that an H-bomb dropped on Times Square would kill only 3,600,000 New Yorkers; the most pessimistic don't expect anyone of the 8,000,000 would survive. None of the victims will care if he is killed by a clean or a dirty bomb. However, the U.S., Russia and Britain have already many 100% clean bombs with no fallout at all: those which are never dropped. Let us hope that these are the only kind existing in the future.

John H. Beck

Evil project

CALABASAS, CALIF.

Here is what I have written to the Atomic Energy Commission:

"I do not ordinarily write this type of letter, but the urgency of current happenings impels me to register my protest.

"I am convinced that you, by exploding 'nuclear devices,' are committing a monstrous, unpardonable crime against humanity.

"What you are doing cannot be regarded by any sane person as 'national defense'; on the contrary, it is war—deliberate, aggressive war against the health and lives of people, and of all living things. It is a campaign of poison and destruction against the earth itself.

"As one who holds the greatest love and respect for the many beautiful things that man through the centuries has accomplished, I denounce your evil project, and demand that you stop exploding nuclear bombs immediately!

"P.S. Please do not send me anymore of your alibi literature. I have found it very untrustworthy. Your current blurb about a 'clean bomb' is, I think, the sheerest hypocrisy."

Robert Ames

Open letter

GRESHAM, ORE.

Following are excerpts from an open letter to Oregon Congressmen from 71 members of the Oregon Annual Conference of the Methodist Church last month:

We, the undersigned, join with the millions of other Americans in commendation of those of our Senators and Congressmen who, understanding the basic evils inherent in the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (the McCarran Act and the Walter-McCarran Act respectively), have called for drastic revision or repeal of these laws.

We feel that the sending into exile by the deportation route of hundreds if not thousands of persons each year on technical grounds, or because of alleged political dissent, is unbecoming a nation founded by immigrants of varying faiths.

We feel that the law, in its administration, violates civil liberties and constitutional rights. We are opposed to those provisions which place limitations on the rights of naturalized citizens, and to the national origins quota system, agreeing with former Sen. Lehman of New York that this "is an insult to everyone of us."

We believe with the President's Commission that the powers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service should be vested in a separate agency of the government and that grounds for deportation should not be technical or excessive. In the interest of common justice and fair play, of keeping families together and homes unbroken, we feel there should be a Statute of Limitations and that deportation proceedings should not be taken against any non-citizen after ten years' residence in this country, or the citizenship of any naturalized citizen be revoked except for fraud.

(Rev.) Mark A. Chamberlin, Membership Secy. Methodist Federation for Social Action

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Russian people tend to regard education as the means for advancing themselves by their own bootstraps, the Ohio educator [Dr. Auburn] said.

"In a regimented society, they can't expect to get the type of work they would like to have unless they can prove their intellectual competency," he said.

—Denver **Post**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with every entry. Winner this week: S. Spiegel, Cheyenne, Wyo.

Hells Canyon

UPLAND, CALIF.

The Senate passed the government-built high dam, Hells Canyon.

If the House refuses to go along in this with the Senate at this session, some more millions of us Democrats are going to join up with those millions of stay-at-homers (assuming we don't form a real Democratic Party)!

Franklin M. Baxter

60 Swedish kronar

TUNAGARDEN, SWEDEN

I am sending you in Swedish money all at once what I think will amount to $1 a week for July and August—60 kronar.

And as I am now old, close to 92 years and sick, I may go to the **sommerland** any day so I am thanking you all warmly for the meritorious work you are doing.

Algot Gustafsen

Chaperons for Dulles

BRONX, N.Y.

It is indeed ironic and paradoxical and bewildering to deny passports to Corliss Lamont, the son of a wealthy capitalist and also to Eleanor Roosevelt, a great humanitarian and fine, honorable personage and the wife of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the man who unfortunately saved the capitalist system from its true proper resting place. On the other hand, John Foster Dulles is free to travel and Mr. Dulles has done the country more harm than good. Our international friends are withering away. The tables should be reversed and Mr. Dulles should be forbidden to travel unless escorted and chaperoned by Eleanor Roosevelt and Corliss Lamont as his brains trust.

Vee M. Ess

Redlegs vs. Blacklegs

CINCINNATI, O.

Here in Cincinnati we are facing a political turmoil. For the fifth time in 32 years the Republicans are trying to defeat our Proportional Representation form of electing a City Council. They are forcing us into a special election. They got the special election by going to the court and ignoring the wishes of the voters.

Those of us who realize what will happen if the Republicans are successful in destroying PR are working day and night to win this special election Sept. 30 and save PR.

Reuel Stanfield

Magazines for China

PEKING, CHINA

We feel a great need, for office use, of copies of U.S. magazines which carry good travel articles, or good features about places of interest in the U.S.—historical, scenic, etc. **Holiday**, for example. If GUARDIAN readers, in the interest of peace and friendship, would send us back issues, we'd be most grateful. Would give us good makeup ideas too.

China Reconstructs
40A Tung Huangcheng Ken
Peking, China

De Groene, Amsterdam
"One, please."

Dixie-doodle-dandy

ERWIN, TENN.

For the 100th anniversary of Gen. Robert E. Lee's June wedding to a Miss Randolph, the Congress of our nation—against which General Lee rebelled and fought—caught the check for a celebration in which "sweet Southern music" was played all day at the old Lee homestead. How touching! And how tragic that the government of our "Land of the Free" is filled with idiots, chauvinists and men who still adore slavery and the master slavers. No wonder the other nations are one by one ducking our bid to be the "leader" of the Free World.

Ernest Seeman

Bay Area busy

BERKELEY, CALIF.

A packed meeting at Wheeler Auditorium on U. C. campus turned out for the Rev. Martin Luther King. Scheduled for a smaller hall, they had to move to the large auditorium and an overflow auditory room adjacent. The audience was largely student age, for which we were glad, but there were all age-groups also, including many oldsters. People pressed up for hand shaking and questions afterward.

And a Sobell meeting in San Francisco drew some 350 and contributed over $600 recently. Stephen Fritchman, Warren Billings, Albert Kahn and Haven Perkins were the speakers.

Olive Burroughs

"Free press" triumphant

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Congratulations to the Free Press—guardians of our country's way of life. Reporters succeeded in tracking down in New York City two teenage San Francisco girls (one of whom was my daughter) who thought to take their American culture to the Sixth World Youth Festival for Peace & Friendship, being held this year in Moscow.

Facts about this Festival were well-known to the press through the official magazine published in Washington entitled **U.S.S.R.** as well as publicity of the forming committee. The girls were prepared to meet the rest of the U.S. delegation before leaving New York for London, where they would meet the British delegation, etc., etc. But after several interviews with the intrepid newsmen, one of the girls, an extremely talented musician, will fly home immediately.

Souvenirs she was to help distribute, namely 100 small American flags, 600 picture postcards of San Francisco, and a dozen records will serve to represent the American culture to the over 30,000 youthful guests who are expected at the Festival. Her brilliant playing will not be heard there.

(Mrs.) Nicholas Shubin

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REPORT TO READERS

Road to survival

AUGUST SIXTH will be Hiroshima Day and August 9 Nagasaki Day. To people of conscience these are not days to celebrate; they are days of rededication to the task of cleansing mankind of brutality.

Such a group of Americans have issued a Call to Non-Violent Action against Nuclear Weapons, with a three-point program of direct action including civil disobedience in the period Aug. 3-9 before the Las Vegas office of the Atomic Energy Commission and the gateway to the Mercury project test site, where a bomb test is scheduled for Aug. 8.

The initiators of this action are 76 pacifists from all over the country. They include Rev. Henry Hitt Crane of Detroit, Dr. Mulford Sibley of University of Minnesota, Rev. John Nevin Sayre of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Mrs. Mildred Scott Olmstead of the Women's League for Peace and Freedom, James Bristol of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), Rev. Dr. Homer A. Jack of Evanston, Ill., Bayard Rustin of the War Resisters League, editor Dorothy Day of the **Catholic Worker** (now serving a jail sentence for disobeying Civil Defense orders in New York earlier this month), and Lawrence Scott of Chicago, coordinator of the action.

THE INITIATORS SAY: "We confess that for us the debate between scientists over the extent of danger from nuclear weapons tests is beside the point. Most of us are not scientists and are not competent to offer scientific judgment on the extent of the danger, but we are obligated to make moral decisions. We believe that as long as there is any question of danger to life anywhere, or real or possible menace to children yet unborn, no argument can justify such risks.

"The tests are essential to the development of nuclear weapons; we therefore oppose them. . . .

"We believe that the natural rights of humanity are above the law of any national state. We believe that it is morally indefensible for any national state to poison its own and other people's air. . . .

"We can no longer be content with verbal and conventional protest against the great evil of nuclear tests. We feel a moral obligation to cast our whole lives against this evil. For some of us this will include civil disobedience against the authority of the state."

The three-point program in which the group invites participation includes:

- A Conference and Project in Las Vegas, Nev., Aug. 3-9, with distribution of leaflets in the towns surrounding the test site, a prayer vigil at the gateway and at the AEC offices; and other actions to be decided on by the participants.
- A Pacifist Action Team to engage in civil disobedience against the tests scheduled for the period Aug. 3-9.
- Community activity throughout the country, with suggestions of leaflet distributions, picketing of military nuclear installations and factories and other forms of protest.

THE GROUP CONCLUDES with this statement: "Survival in this nuclear age depends upon the abolition of armament and war. It is our earnest hope that the concern aroused against testing of nuclear weapons may lead us and our fellow men in this and other lands to go on, before it is too late, to the determination to end war forever. Cessation of nuclear testing can be the first step toward a disarmed world."

Non-Violent Action against Nuclear Weapons may be addressed at Room 1601, 1133 Broadway, New York 10; or 236 West Utah Ave., Las Vegas, Nev.

—THE GUARDIAN

A GENERATION MEANS FIVE YEARS

Syria today: Progress and pitfalls

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

DAMASCUS, SYRIA

"SYRIA IS FACING economic chaos," my companion on a visit to a Palestine refugee camp said angrily. "This year I destroyed all my vegetable crops. Prices are so low it wouldn't pay me to ship to the Damascus market. The government has lost us our markets in Iraq and Jordan." Then he said darkly: "Great changes will take place within a week. You'll see. I can't tell you more. I'm already in enough trouble with government people who wear red neckties. My enemies call me a feudal lord."

A check revealed that he was indeed a rich landowner from the fertile area south of Damascus; but his claims otherwise proved false. Rumors of "great changes" and "coming events" sweep Syria with regularity and the government is convinced they are organized campaigns to unsettle the people.

100,000 OLIVE TREES: Stress on alleged economic crisis was the current strategy of the Al Shaab party in Parliament over the budget. Al Shaab represents the feudal landowners and merchants, many with Western ties. When CP deputy Bakdash accused Al Shaab of playing "the imperialist game," its parliamentary leader Rushdi El Kakha, who owns 100,000 olive trees, resigned from Parliament in protest against this affront. In the Western press this became a protest against the "mounting wave" of communism in Syria.

The plan seemed to be for all Al Shaab deputies to resign, thus paralyzing Parliament, forcing the resignation of the government, and "proving" the existence of an "unstable and chaotic" situation in Syria. This could permit the invoking of the Eisenhower Doctrine. But the strategy failed. Parliament approved the budget, refused to accept El Kakha's resignation and recessed for four weeks.

AFTER SUEZ: Having weathered this crisis, Syrians remain alert for the next. Since Suez and the Jordan affair, the government does not expect the Western attack to come in the form of military invasion but from within.

The invasion of Egypt caused serious economic difficulties. Cutting of the pipelines lost the government revenue and brought unemployment to thousands. With purchasing power reduced and people unwilling to buy because of uncertainty, economic stagnation developed in some areas and the cost of living rose. But more than half the oil workers will be reemployed with back pay, while the rest are expected to be absorbed in government projects.

There is, in addition, what amounts to a Western economic blockade. France, normally a big cotton buyer, and Britain have stopped buying altogether while the U. S. is dumping wheat at below world market prices in countries which usually buy Syrian wheat. Egypt has agreed in principle to buy the bulk of Syria's wheat over the next 10 years and Syrians seem confident that socialist countries will buy its products if the West will not. The blockade, however, is especially hurtful because agricultural production this year is the best in history and profitable sales would have provided sorely-needed capital.

WOMEN VOTING IN THE RECENT ELECTIONS IN EGYPT
For the first time in history two women were elected to the Egyptian Parliament. In Syria too women are emerging from the shadows of daily life.

DEVELOPMENT PLANS: On the other hand, Syria has been making progress toward economic independence. All foreign concessions have been abolished and the government has taken control of railroads and electricity as well as education and public health; it has installed automatic telephone service throughout the country; it has begun a big development program. When this program is completed, the area of cultivable land will be increased by a third.

Some 80% of Syria's industry, largely processing of agricultural products, did not exist 10 years ago. Today there is a modern textile industry, a highly mechanized cement plant, a new brewery in Aleppo, built by a W. German firm. (Its first beer came on the market the day I reached Aleppo and was selling like the proverbial hotcakes.)

All this has been accomplished by private enterprise and has been financed by Syrians, many of them living abroad, and by other Arab capital. But although most of the capital is Syrian, foreign banks have until now dominated the country's economic activity. The government acted last year to end this domination by creating its own Central Bank. An Economic Development Board is now being organized to make plans for Syria's further industrialization.

THE RICH ARE RICHER: Agriculturally, there has been phenomenal growth. Since 1945 wheat production has doubled, barley trebled, and cotton has jumped from 15,000 to 200,000 tons.

Syria stands ahead of other Arab countries in agriculture and its standard of living is higher. But its production remains largely archaic and its farm laborers and sharecroppers—at the mercy of landlord, usurer and weather—manage little better than a bare existence. Around Damascus, fruit and vegetable farms belonging to medium proprietors give a prosperous appearance. But in the north, treeless and sometimes waterless villages, whose windowless mud huts with peaked domes look like beehives clustered close together, are dismal and bleak. The people working in the dry and dusty reddish-brown fields use the most primitive methods.

State policy or lack of it has helped the rich landlord grow richer and bigger while virtually nothing has been done for the farm laborer and tenant farmer. But when the Ghab drainage project is completed, its 100,000 acres are to be distributed to poorer peasants. According to Public Works Minister Kayali, this policy will be followed in other government-reclaimed areas.

STRIDES IN EDUCATION: In Syria, according to Dr. Izzat Tarbulsi, head of the Central Bank, the average individual income is $140 a year, "hence one of our main tasks is to see that economic development has its repercussions on the living standards of the people."

Many Syrians believe that the greatest accomplishment has been in education. Perhaps 35% of the people are still illiterate, but ten years ago the figure was 65%. In another five years, illiteracy should be eliminated, and even before that it is hoped to have a school in every village. Primary education is compulsory but only about 80% of the children go to school. The French left Syria with four secondary schools; there are now 200. University students have multiplied 10 times, women students 17 times.

"Men and women used to be completely separated," a university professor told me. "Now they work together and now dance together, even rock and roll." This is certainly true among the young but the still-backward position of women is apparent in the many who still cover themselves with black veils.

An economist, who returned last year to Syria after nine years' absence, said: "We're changing so fast, a generation nowadays in Syria means no more than five years. We have even made social progress and that is very difficult. You in the West have no idea of this. You still think of us as we were in 1918—but that's as much as 100 years ago."

Syria's progress is the more remarkable in that it is spending something like 60% of its budget on defense. The refrain heard again and again is this: "How much we could do if only the imperialists would leave us in peace."

The way of the river valley

THE Tennessee Valley Project, with its fundamental policy of public conservation of power resources, land, forest, soil and stream, in the public interest, is an indication of a new approach to the problems of regional development . . . The river valley has the advantage of bringing into a common regional frame a diversified unit: this is essential to an effective civic and social life, and has been overlooked in many schemes of regional development that are erected on the basis of purely homogeneous resources or interests . . . Regional unity is . . . a result of co-operative political and economic action . . . In the Tennessee Valley and kindred areas, like the Upper Connecticut Valley, a basis can be laid, not merely for a more efficient industrial order, but for a NEW SOCIAL ORDER and a new type of urban environment, provided the requisite political courage and social imagination are collectively brought to bear.

—Lewis Mumford in **The Culture of Cities, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1938.**

Gift-wrapped

CHATHAM, Ont., July 17 (AP) — Charlie Dobson, 76, living beside a highway, has no garbage disposal problem. He simply bundles the leftovers in a neatly tied box and places the box beside the road.

"I've seen many a car stop, pick up the box and high tail it off down the road," says Charlie. "And I haven't had a box returned yet."

—N.Y. Post, 7/17

DEPORTATION CASE

Finnish newsman aided in fight on 10-year sentence

Special to the Guardian

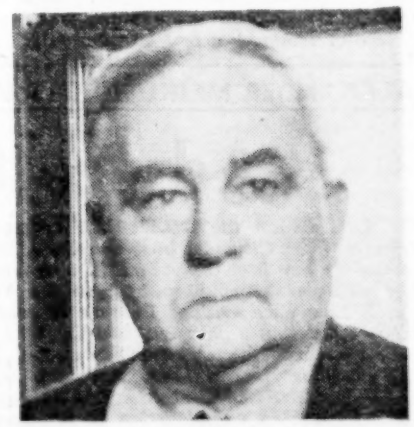
SUPERIOR, WISC.

KNUT HEIKKINEN, 67-year-old staff member of the Finnish-language newspaper **Tyomies-Eteenpain** facing ten years in jail under the Walter-McCarran law for failure to facilitate his own deportation, has received court permission to travel to raise funds for his Supreme Court appeal, scheduled to be argued in October.

A U.S. resident since 1916, Heikkinen was ordered deported in April, 1952, a few months after the Walter-McCarran Law went into effect, on charges of past membership in the Communist Party. After he was ordered deported, he was interviewed by a representative of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to whom he gave data necessary to enable the Service to obtain permission for him to go to Finland.

Less than a year later he was interviewed again and asked what steps he had taken to secure travel documents. He stated he had done nothing, since he was under the impression that the Service was arranging his departure.

In October, 1953, he was indicted on two counts: (1) failing to depart from the country; (2) failing to apply for travel documents. He was convicted on both counts and sentenced to five years on the first, with sentence on the second to be imposed after completion of sentence on the first count.



KNUT HEIKKINEN
A court date next fall

TEST OF THE LAW: His conviction was affirmed by the Court of Appeals in Chicago in January of this year and on April 22 the Supreme Court agreed to hear the appeal. Oral argument is set for October.

Heikkinen's appeal will test the constitutionality of deportation procedures which deny the subject legal safeguards on the grounds that the proceedings are civil and not criminal in nature. The appeal also contends that Heikkinen evidenced no criminal intent in failing to take initiative in seeking travel documents for his deportation; and that the sentence was unjust. Other issues raised in the appeal challenge the constitutionality of the Walter-McCarran Law in several respects.

The Supreme Court appeal has been undertaken on Heikkinen's behalf by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 49 E. 21 St., New York 10, N.Y. Contributions and messages of support may also be sent to Knut Heikkinen, Box 553, Superior, Wisc.

HOW DO YOU LIKE YOUR 'PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM'?

This American empire of high finance

ONE OF THE GREAT MYTHS of our time, assiduously cultivated in the organs of public opinion, has it that we are living in an era of "People's Capitalism."

A massive propaganda barrage puts forward the claim that the corporate giants of our country are, in reality, owned and controlled by millions of stockholders; the executives of these corporations are merely managing technicians named by and responsible to the stockholders.

The Rockefeller family and the Morgan banks are no longer pictured as economic giants controlling vast sectors of American industry. We are told, for example, that the Rockefellers are more interested in giving money away than in making it.

When stacked up against the facts of intensified economic concentration, there can be little doubt that the mythology concerning the nature of our economy aims at keeping dormant the traditional American opposition to monopoly.

FINANCE CAPITAL: It is in this context that Victor Perlo's latest economic study, **The Empire of High Finance***, takes on great importance. A previous volume by the author, **American Imperialism,** analyzed the structure and operation of U.S. capitalism abroad; the new one focuses attention on "the most decisive and most confused" aspect of concentration in the American economy, finance capital.

Perlo defines finance capital as "the linking of banking and industrial monopolies and monopolists into super-monopolies which tower over even the greatest of industrial combines." This volume analyzes the American economy today in a detailed fashion and makes it possible to counter factually the apologists for the financial oligarchy and those who deny its very existence. As such, it is a tremendous help in understanding the nature of monopoly's real threat to the well-being of all Americans and to the peace.

THE BANKS ARE MADE OF MARBLE AND GRANITE AND BRICK
The lower Manhattan skyline outlines the nerve center of finance

SPIDER WEB: Not a propaganda tract, but based on extensive research and painstaking scholarship, **The Empire of High Finance** details the various forms of corporate control and the inner-working of the Big Business structure as a whole.

In the text, as well as in tables, charts and appendices, Perlo traces the complex spider web of corporate and financial relations. He lays bare the inside ties, maneuvers and manipulations of the multi-billionaire families, their banks and their corporations.

Changes in monopoly relations and the battles among the big tycoons are analyzed in a way that spreads new light on the structure and nature of American finance capital. The peak financial centers and the form in which they exercise economic and political control are spelled out. There is a specific and sweeping breakdown of the Rockefellers, the Morgan group, du Ponts, Mellons, the First National City Bank, as well as the lesser Wall Street groupings. Analyzed perhaps for the first time with such conciseness are the Boston, Midwestern and California regional groups and the Texas millionaires and their relation to the key Eastern financial centers.

SOURCE OF WEALTH: Perlo shows how four big banks and insurance companies today have more assets than all financial institutions had in 1912; how the corporate profits of 10 industrial corporations are greater than those of all such corporations were in the 1929 boom year. He shows how the foreign empire of U.S. high finance is now greater in value than the combined national incomes of Britain, Canada and the Netherlands.

The fact that monopoly-controlled foreign investments and war industry alone account for half the profits of the financial oligarchies brings the point home sharply.

THE WAY OUT: Perlo demonstrates the inadequacy of the partial measures of anti-monopoly legislation. He says that "nothing less than the end of private ownership and control of the key industrial and financial concentrates can prevail over the manifold devices of the financial oligarchy."

This in itself is not new. What is new is the depth of analysis, the mass of facts and figures, the thorough manner in which developments are tracked down and correlated into the picture of the vast financial empire.

Despite the factual and statistical material, in this reader's view, the book never becomes "heavy" or burdensome. If anything, Perlo's writing is lucid and his style easygoing.

—**Economicus**

**THE EMPIRE OF HIGH FINANCE, by Victor Perlo. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Av., New York 16, N.Y. 352 pp. $5.50.*

The incredible exception

WHILE BORIS MORROS was in Europe acting as a counter-espionage agent for our country he quietly lined up a fascinating TV series. He made agreements with 30 of the 60 living Nobel Prize winners in Europe to allow him to film biographical sketches of their lives and accomplishments.

One of Boris' friends confides that forthcoming revelations about Communists are so incredible that no one could believe them except that they will be officially released by the United States Government.

Louella Parsons in the
Los Angeles **Examiner,** 7/13

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN'S VALEDICTORY

Advice to the class (and faculty) of 1957

Last month the GUARDIAN received a letter from a N. Y. City girl in a quandary. The valedictorian of her high school class, she found that in her address she could not quote the President of Sarah Lawrence College because he was "too controversial," that a phrase of Steinbeck's about "open revolt against tyranny" was too strong, that to cite the need for "free teachers" was "too negative."

The GUARDIAN could find no better answer for the puzzled valedictorian or for any graduates than the words of Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, the 85-year-old philosopher of freedom, who 19 years ago "retired" from a brilliant career as professor and college president to devote himself to the definition and preservation of U. S. civil liberties. An officer of the American Civil Liberties Union, a resistance fighter against the Smith Act and the witch-hunt, he has never been able to see how education can exist without freedom or freedom without education. On May 10 he addressed the alumni and former faculty members of the Experimental College which he founded 30 years earlier at the University of Wisconsin. We offer below excerpts from that speech as this year's commencement message:

OUR PREVAILING MAXIM for young people, as well as old, is not now "Be Good" or "Do Good," but rather "Make Good." Under the guidance of that maxim we have become eager and aggressive in defense of our individual competitive rights. But our only effective common purpose is that of forever raising higher and higher what we call standard of living. And the illusion, the meaninglessness inherent in that purpose have penetrated into every corner of our common life. That's the basic reason why the schools and colleges which are, presumably, commissioned to study and teach the ways of freedom are so weak, so confused, so ineffectual. My first remark is, then, that insofar as a society is dominated by the attitudes of competitive business enterprise, freedom, in its proper American meaning, cannot be known and, hence, cannot be taught.

Drawing by Fred Wright

"We don't care how many degrees you've earned, Miss Craddock . . . Ever sign a petition?"

And, second, the substitution of a false idea for a true one has built up among us a national defect of disposition or of character which hinders all our attempts to educate ourselves. That defect is a strong defensive antipathy against self-criticism, an insistence upon intellectual conformity, an irrational fear lest, by the use of our minds, we might discover that we are not, in fact, what we intend or profess to be.

I AM NOT HERE SUGGESTING that we fear intellectual activity as such. We have, of course, no terror of the brilliant investigations which make possible the curing of our diseases, no dread of the scientific research or the technological inventing which enables us to create external wealth and power with enormous efficiency. But the men whom we fear because of their thinking are the critics, men who would question the value or wisdom of these intellectual achievements, who would block progress by standing, like Socrates, in the middle of the busy thoroughfare, asking themselves, and others whose ears they can catch, where the road leads.

Such men are, as of old, corrupters of our youth and deniers of our gods. They do not follow loyally and contentedly what we call the American way of life. They are dreamers, do-gooders, eggheads, to be ignored or laughed at; or, if that does not suffice, punished and suppressed. And this craving for intellectual conformity, this timidity of mind, more than any other single factor, has brought it about that our teachers labor in vain as they seek to educate the people of a nation which fears and despises the very essence of what education is. . . .

JUST AS THE TYRANTS of old had always justified their acts of suppression by the plea that religion, speech, press, assembly, or petition, in this case or that, threatened danger to the general welfare or to the national security, so our officials and our courts of these current days have invaded our freedom, appealing to the same justification. But the First Amendment will have none of it. Speaking for a society whose members have decided to be free, it denies and outlaws that plea of danger. If the Amendment does not mean that, it does not mean anything. Whatever political freedom turns out to be, we Americans have decided to have it and to take it straight.

I have said that the pursuit of knowledge has heretofore invited disaster by tearing apart what we know about men and their world into relatively meaningless fragments. As against that procedure what we now need is that in pursuit of understanding there be cultivated and practiced an equally severe and rigorous intellectual discipline which will endeavor to put the minds of men together again into a pattern as meaningful as the facts allow. That pattern will not be created by mere good will. The needed unity can be won, only as the total body of human knowledge and purpose is brought within the scope of an organized group intelligence.

THE BRILLIANT ACHIEVEMENTS of scholarly investigation must be matched, they must be surpassed, by the concerted efforts of intellectual interpreters. The college must think its way through knowledge toward wisdom.

The situation which now faces the teacher and all of us is one of tragic severity.

It is possible, as we all know, that this blundering untutored race of men, through the sudden access of brutalizing power which knowledge brings, will soon destroy itself. But there is also hope that for the first time since man began his education among the carnivores, we may by patience and intelligent use of knowledge construct a world that sensitive and timid natures could regard without a shudder.

AN APPEAL FROM MEXICAN ARTIST DIEGO RIVERA

Let all humanity clamor to end the bomb tests

DIEGO RIVERA
Palmas Y Alta Vista 101
San Angel Inn, D.F. Mexico

TO THE GUARDIAN
and all artists and men of culture in the world:

I address myself to you to ask that your voice and the authority of your position, reinforce the demand, in the name of everything in the world that signifies culture, beauty, joy and peace, for the immediate suspension of thermonuclear and atomic bomb tests, since their continuation only can result in a general atomic war with the consequent destruction of humanity.

No sooner had his superior knowledge given to man the possibility of penetrating the nuclear structure of matter, and the power of liberating and managing its immense energy, than the discovery was applied to prepare instruments of mass destruction.

The continuing threats and counter-threats have caused such powerful fear and mass hysteria in the world as evidently can bring about the destruction of order; can produce a rapidly increasing degeneracy of moral and esthetic values. All art, culture, and life itself is in imminent danger and we must defend it.

It seems that the intelligence of man is not yet great enough for him to comprehend that from every side he is preparing his own destruction. Let us raise our voices, then, let us use awareness and our love of mankind to awaken his intelligence from its lethargy!

Two thousand North American scientists have demanded the suspension of the tests as a step toward the prohibition of atomic arms. But certain scientists of my country—a neighbor of the United States—have stated publicly that humanity has nothing to fear from the tests—that "only their use in a war would be terrible."

Are the test bombs, then, made of different material than the bombs that they would drop in a war? The whole world can ask the Japanese sailors and fishermen, victims of the atomic rain that fell from a North American test bomb in the Pacific; it can ask those who were poisoned by eating contaminated fish.

Possibly the scientists who do not look upon the atomic bomb as a menace to humanity feel that that the Japanese people do not form a part of humanity. Whatever their opinion, this experience shows that in a nuclear war between the great powers, the people of the small nations, who have as much right to live as those of the big nations, would be the defenseless victims.

If men of science by thousands have raised their voice against the enormous atrocity, until now it seems they are unheard, since others are found to mute the alarm.

Why has this voice not been heard more clearly by the millions of mothers whose sons are menaced by death? Why are they not impelled to unite, to organize throughout the world in order to restrain the hand that creates the means of murderous destruction of those to whom they gave life?

Why has this voice not been aided by the millions of human beings who desire to live and build in peace and joy, rather than to prepare general annihilation?

Why do not the women and men of the whole world unite in an immense organization for peace, to stop the iniquity of war forever? What is the reason for this inexplicable deafness before the fearful danger?

Accordingly I raise my own weak voice as loud as I can, in order to call to all those who live for love and beauty and human sensibility—the indispensable food of the higher life—to cry out, to exhort, to plead that all humanity clamor for and obtain the immediate suspension of the nuclear bomb tests, at the very least for the three years proposed.

Thus we will give a breathing spell in which men can recover their reason and arrive at an accord of the whole world for the prohibition of the manufacture and use of the thermonuclear weapon for the collective destruction of humanity.

In the name of human solidarity, I am
Sincerely yours,

Diego Rivera

Pugwash parley

(Continued from Page 1)

scientist would tell reporters as much or as little as he wanted to concerning his own statements but would not refer to the statements of others. There was little disagreement, however; the warning that science handed politicians at Pugwash was almost unanimous. Dr. Brock Chisholm, former director-general of the UN World Health Organization, won support for a declaration that the only way to protect humanity from almost total destruction was to ban war altogether; that no nation could defend its people if atomic war broke out.

A JAPANESE APPEAL: Nobel Prize winner Prof. Hidiki Yukawa of Tokyo University submitted an appeal from Japanese scientific societies urging a suspension of all atomic weapon testing in the conviction "that hydrogen bomb tests are pregnant with the possibility of inflicting suffering of an unpredictable magnitude upon the people of the entire world who are desirous of leading a peaceful existence."

D.F. Skobeltsyn, one of five Soviet scientists, said co-existence was the key. After four days of discussion the scientists issued a statement indicating that independent research in different parts of the world tallied closely and found the Bomb a menace and war the ultimate disaster of the human race. Only two declined to sign the statement: Dr. Leo Szilard of the Univ. of Chicago and John Foster of McGill Univ. of Canada.

GRIM CONFIRMATION: The majority confirmed previous estimates that strontium-90 from bombs already tested in the last six years will in the next 30 years cause 100,000 additional cases of leukemia and bone cancer, an increase of 1% in the incidence of those diseases; that another 100,000 in future generations will suffer from fall-out now hanging over the world.

Above all, the statement said, atomic war, fought with "clean" or "dirty" atomic weapons, would be a "disaster of unprecedented magnitude." Fearing that "little" wars could lead to the final big war, they warned that "war must be abolished and not merely regulated by limiting the weapons that may be used."

WHAT DOES IKE KNOW? Warnings came not only from Pugwash. Rep. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.), chairman of the radiations subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, urged a broader international conference of scientists to discuss the hazards of radiation. He said that the "torrent" of mail after the radiation hearings of his committee showed that the "seeming optimism and complacency of government officials is by no means shared by our citizens." Asking who interpreted the strontium-90 dangers for President Eisenhower, Holifield said: "I have no information to lead me to believe the President really understands this particular hazard."

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Here are the results of our referendum, gentlemen: 38% of humanity in favor of suspending H-bomb tests; 12% against and 50% have no opinion."

Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) also found "some vagueness" in the President's attitude toward the tests and said it handicapped the disarmament negotiators in London. An appeal to emerge from the London talks with some kind of ban on atomic testing was contained in a telegram sent to the President by 83 scientific, religious and educational leaders. Among them were Socialist leader Norman Thomas; E. Raymond Wilson of the Friends Committee on National Legislation; Robert Nathan, chairman, Americans for Democratic Action; and Charles C. Price, former chairman of the Fedn. of American Scientists.

The President's talk of "clean" bombs was condemned by France's high commissioner of atomic energy, Francis Perrin, who called the adjective "shocking and its official use disturbing, for it seems aimed at diminishing the justified anguish of peoples facing atomic war." Perrin said the "clean" bomb would not "sensibly diminish the horror" of atomic warfare and that military staffs having both "clean" and "dirty" bombs would use the more effective one depending on the strategic purpose.

FRIENDS' PETITION: The New England Region of the American Friends Service Committee (130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass.) is circulating a petition to the President urging a ban on the tests. Last week Peace Education Secy. Russell Johnson sent petitions with 10,000 signatures to the President. He indicated that more would follow and added that the campaign launched "on a shoestring" could only yield an idea of the far larger support the President could win for efforts to secure a ban on the tests.

More than 225,000 Norwegians have signed a similar petition. Danish cabinet ministers and the Mexican artist Diego Rivera (see above) made their separate appeals.

Still, on July 5 in the Nevada desert, the U.S. fired the biggest atomic bomb ever exploded on the North American continent, with three times the destructive power of the one that blasted Hiroshima. An airplane pilot, 1,000 miles from the scene over the Pacific, saw the flash. It shook buildings in California 300 miles away; in San Diego families reported that their parakeets died in the shock. The whole western half of the nation saw—or felt—the "show."

On July 15 the weapon christened "Diablo" (the Devil) sent a fluorescent purple cloud 30,000 feet high, cracked windows 250 miles away. Two days later the Utah Health Dept. found the fall-out radioactivity at an all-time high on the roof of the state capitol.

Private stock

WASHINGTON, July 1 (AP)—A subcommittee of the House of Representatives learned today that money from the confidential "emergency" fund of John Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State, had been used for liquor purchases.

N.Y. Times, 7/2

The canisters that would not sink

A TANKER carrying 25 canisters of radioactive waste from General Electric atomic plant at Schenectady, N.Y., sailed down the Hudson out to sea to a point 185 miles southeast of New York City this month.

The canisters were dumped overboard on July 14, each fitted with a self-sinking devoice working on a time fuse. Two of the canisters failed to sink. Navy planes sank one. The other was lost for two days. It carried 20 tons of radioactive sodium that might have scattered death over a radius of 1,000 feet on the surface and 1,000 feet up in the air if the whole canister had exploded. Five Navy planes machine-gunned it to the bottom from a safe altitude of 1,500 feet.

The incident dramatized the problem of atomic waste disposal. There are now 4,000 plants creating atomic wastes. Some have been reported using rivers and streams. Scientists have warned that extensive atomic dumping any closer to shore than the middle of the Atlantic Ocean could be hazardous.

THE MELISH STORY

Bishop padlocks Brooklyn church

AT THE END of services at Brooklyn's embattled Church of the Holy Trinity on Sunday, July 21, the Rev. Herman S. Sidener read a letter from Bishop James P. DeWolfe of the Long Island Protestant Episcopal Diocese recommending that the church be closed until further notice.

Mr. Sidener said he would comply "in accordance with the Godly counsel" and shut down all parish buildings, including the gymnasium and other facilities long at the disposal of the Brooklyn Heights community. Only the rectory was to remain open because a court order provides that the Rev. William Howard Melish and his family be allowed to live there until the courts decide the long dispute as to who is the lawful rector of Holy Trinity.

The Bishop's unprecedented move to padlock the church was the latest in a running war he has had with Holy Trinity's congregation, most of whom favor their supply priest Mr. Melish as they had his father the Rev. John Howard Melish before him.

MANY INCIDENTS: Both Melishes have taken a broad social view of their ministry and participated in movements for peace and Soviet-American friendship which the Bishop has denounced as leftist. When the elder Melish was removed in 1949 the congregation insisted on having his son take his place. Since then the Bishop, with the aid of a minority in the congregation, has maintained persistent pressure on the Melishes in the church and in the courts.

The Bishop appointed Mr. Sidener as rector; the action was contested in the courts and the case is to be heard in the N. Y. Court of Appeals Oct. 7.

VESTRY PROTEST: One thing was clear: the battle would not end with the Bishop's order. Mr. Sidener packed his bags and left on Sunday but on Monday morning, July 22, the Vestry of Holy Trinity in a formal statement denied that the Bishop or Mr. Sidener had a right to shut the church down. "In the Protestant Episcopal Church," the statement said, "the Bishop does not have charge of parish temporalities. By civil statute and under Canon 13 (of the Church law) the Vestry shall be agents and legal representatives of the parish in all matters concerning its congregational property and the relation of the parish to its clergy."

Civil rights bill

(Continued from Page 1)

one person above all must accept major responsibility for this. That man is Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States. At two successive press conferences, the President has revealed, first, that he is not thoroughly familiar with the contents of his Administration's bill and, second, that he is not enthusiastically in favor of what he does believe the bill to contain. Mimeographed press releases from the White House may speak approvingly of the bill in its present form. But these even are issued while the President is at the golf course.

"What the President states at a press conference . . . reflects far more what is in the President's mind than does the content of some White House press release. And, at his press conference, the President has demonstrated both a lack of knowledge and a lack of enthusiasm for the civil rights bill in the form that it passed the House of Representatives. This has made infinitely more difficult the task of those who had hoped, earnestly and sincerely, that at last we were to see meaningful and effective civil rights legislation enacted in the Senate of the United States."

FIGHT OVER PART III: Others were harshly critical of Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell for departing for London just as the Senate debate was getting under way. Some accused him of running out on the fight instead of staying on hand to serve as the Administration spokesman for the measure.

One of the early Senate votes was to be on an amendment by Sens. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.) and George D. Aiken (R-Vt.) to eliminate Part III from the bill entirely. This is the section that would authorize the Attorney General, on his own volition, to seek court injunctions against interference with any civil rights on the books, including the right to attend a non-segregated school. Violations of injuctions would be tried and punished without a jury. The President had indicated at his press conference his own lack of support for this section.

THE COALITION COLLAPSES: Knowland also suggested acceptance of an amendment that would give the Senate the power of confirmation of the staff director of a bipartisan civil rights commission to be established under the bill. This would practically guarantee that no one unacceptable to the Southerners would ever be confirmed. Knowland further proposed that under Part III the Attorney General could intervene in general civil rights cases only at the request of local or state officials. It was at this point that the Northern coalition began to fall apart and Knowland, for the time at least, abandoned his efforts at compromise after a late afternoon meeting with Democratic civil rights leaders. He predicted a very close vote on the Aiken-Anderson amendment.

On the same day Sen. Aiken himself walked out of a Republican caucus as a protest against those holding out for an un-amended bill. Their position, he charged, would lead to the defeat of any measure; he said, "I want a bill, not a political issue."

JURY TRIAL ISSUE: Other amendments, either pending or promised, would drastically reduce the scope and effectiveness of the proposed civil rights commission; would prohibit the Attorney General from seeking injunctions in any civil rights cases except the right to vote —and then only at the invitation of local officials; would make jury trials mandatory in voting cases; and would strike out the provision for the establishment of a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Dept. headed by a new assistant Attorney General.

Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) charged that "the principal motive of the compromise seekers is to gut this bill of any effectiveness." Sen. Irving M. Ives (R-N.Y.) said that since the Southerners have announced that they will vote against even an amended bill, any talk of compromise is "futile": "We've got to fight the issue out, head on."

From the House came several warnings against compromise. Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) who guided the bill through the House intact, told Senators that he will "refuse to participate in the acceptance of any crippling amendments."

PHONY COMPROMISE TALK: Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) said that talk of compromise in the Senate "is nothing more or less than a preludium to a sell-out of the large number of people who are interested in seeing adequate civil rights legislation enacted during this session of Congress. . . . Any diminution, weakening or dilution of this bill is a betrayal of every one who fought to secure its passage. The talk of a civil rights compromise is nothing more or less than phony. Those who seek the compromise offer nothing in return other than a vote against the bill and will so admit when questioned."

Rep. Dingell had another warning: "An additional danger which no one has yet broached is this—that any compromise or amendment by the Senate will throw this bill into conference, which will result in increased delay and the opportunity for further filibuster in the Senate of the United States. I hope members of the Senate who think as I do on this subject of civil rights will reject every change in the House bill, which is wise, moderate, and just, and which should be enacted without delay. Any talk of compromise will prolong the passage of this bill into law almost interminably by affording still another chance for a filibuster to those who oppose it."

Change in Moscow

(Continued from Page 1)

made any great ideological pronouncements but has dealt with practical things such as giving people apartments and more and better things to eat—and often doing things in a most unorthodox way. But it was more than living standards. People unjustly arrested in the dark old days have been released and given priority help in finding flats and jobs and considerable financial compensation. The security services have been put in their place and strict compliance with constitutional legal safeguards has been enforced.

Wages for the lower-categoried workers have been substantially increased. Pension plans for women over 55 and men over 60 (starting at 45 and 50, respectively, in certain industries) are on a more general and generous scale than anywhere else in the world. The collective farmers now plan their own production instead of getting orders from a central ministry on what to plant.

Compulsory deliveries of produce from the individual holdings of collective farmers were drastically cut—and the day after the resolution expelling the Malenkov group was published, it was decided to abolish these deliveries completely. Since they accounted for 25% of the meat and substantial proportions of the milk and butter reaching the markets in the past, this was a highly popular decision among the collective farmers. It was made possible by Khrushchev's plan —bitterly opposed by Molotov and some of the other veterans—to plough up 80,000,000 acres of virgin land in Siberia and Kazakhstan, push wheat production further east and grow animal-fodder crops in the former traditional wheat areas of the Ukraine and North Caucasus.

Vicky in London Daily Mirror

THE BUREAUCRATS: The measure which provoked the bitterest onslaught of the Malenkov group and which seems to have sparked the attempt to change the leadership, was the decision to close down some 30 ministries and pack the staffs off to the countryside to do the jobs they had been trying to do from their ministerial offices. This was a frontal attack on bureaucracy. In the past, attacks on bureaucracy seem to have been limited to those appearing in the press and the satirical magazine **Krokodil.** But the new leadership got down to brass tacks by ploughing in tens of thousands of bureaucrats as they had done with the 80,000,000 acres.

With the Soviet people and rank-and-file Communist Party members, all these measures have been extremely popular. And this is why the Central Committee Plenum unanimously rejected the Malenkov group. This group looked strong in the Presidium and their names were important. But in the Plenum they were a small isolated group. By the time the week-long discussion came to an end, with the Malenkov group no doubt vigorously carrying the battle from the Presidium into the Plenum, all except Molotov voted for their own expulsion. Molotov abstained.

The Khrushchev leadership has made a fairly clean break with past methods. In meetings all over the country after the Plenum, party leaders made out an impressive case of obstruction by the Malenkov group on all major issues; the inference was that things would have moved much more quickly had it not been for the obstruction. Now, it is felt, things really will move faster.

FOREIGN RELATIONS: In foreign affairs it was said that Molotov opposed all measures to improve relations abroad and that this opposition must have weighed heavily with other members of the Presidium. Events in Poland and Hungary strengthened Molotov's position. "They rubbed their hands with evil glee at our ill-successes," the new Vice-Premier Kosygin said. There were doubtless monumental battles within the Presidium at that time. It is believed that if the Malenkov group had gained control within the Presidium they would have used the "old forms and methods" (as the Beria system is usually referred to) to impose their leadership. There would have been no Plenum.

The fact that matters were decided strictly according to Party statutes and by discussion; the fact that all those expelled took part in the discussions; that they are free men and being given jobs to do—these are the most heartening and convincing proofs that things have changed and will go on changing for the better.

After the first shock of seeing respected and well-known names in disgrace, the Soviet public—at least those with whom I have spoken in the streets of Moscow—are well satisfied with what has happened. They like the all-around easing up since the 20th Congress and are understandably angry at anyone who tries to drag them back to the old ways.

The fact that the date of the Khrushchev-Bulganin departure for Prague was announced the day after the resolution, and that they left for Prague just five days later, is regarded as the surest sign that they feel the situation is very solid.

A huge reception for B & K in Czechoslovakia

THE PARADE ROUTE THROUGH PRAGUE'S VENCESLAS SQUARE
Khrushchev waves to crowds that gathered to greet the Soviet leaders.

By George Wheeler
Special to the Guardian

PRAGUE (By Air) July 12

"I KNOW Eisenhower personally. I know him to be an honorable man. But what has happened that he now talks of a 'clean hydrogen bomb'? Clean? Clean? It would make God Himself ashamed to hear such talk." Khrushchev was speaking to the workers of the big Prague engineering works, "Stalingrad." He has an informal manner that appeals to working people.

"Yes, we could organize the people into the streets, but we couldn't organize the joy and the radiant faces," said Czech CP First Secretary A. Novotny in reply to allegations in the Western press that the demonstrations for Bulganin and Khrushchev have been organized. The warmth of this welcome seemed indisputably genuine.

Khrushchev was obviously pleased with the enthusiasm of the "Stalingrad" workers. Perhaps it was this that led to his remarks on Yugoslavia that had the pens of the correspondents flying. He said it was easy to deal with big countries such as China. But each of the little countries that were just emerging from agrarian backwardness wanted to build locomotives, automobiles, tractors and combines. They could do it, he said, but it was neither efficient nor good sense. He added: "You correspondents do not need to take this all down. I've told it to [Marshal] Tito and [Vice President] Rankovic many times and I'll tell them again next time I see them."

The Yugoslavs that we met were irritated by these remarks. They made the headlines, but they were essentially asides. Khrushchev's main concern was with the dangers of atomic warfare and the need for disarmament. His conclusion was that the friendship of the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples "will strengthen all socialist countries—and this includes Yugoslavia."

CALENDAR

Berkeley, Calif.

VICTOR PERLO speaks on **SAT. AUG. 10**, 8 P.M., on Economics of Disarmament. A Report on **FALLOUT IN QUINCY, CALIF. AL RICHMOND**, Editor and Supreme Court acquitted Smith Act victim speaks at 1819 - Tenth Street, Berkeley. Donation 50c. Auspices: East Bay Peoples World Readers.

San Francisco

VICTOR PERLO, political economist and author, will discuss "Bankers & Bombers in California," based on his new book "The Empire of High Finance." Discussion period. 150 Golden Gate Ave. 8:30 p.m., Fri. Aug. 9. Ausp: Ind. Socialist Forum of Bay Area.

THE KREMLIN PURGE—Its Real Meaning
Speaker: **FRANK BARBARIA**
Socialist Candidate for Supervisor
Wed. Aug. 7, 8 P.M. 307 S. Van Ness
Auspices: Militant Labor Forum

New York

MAINSTREAM STARLIGHT FORUM
8:30 P.M.
SUNDAY, JULY 28
A Novelist Replies to Howard Fast
PHILIP BONOSKY, author of "Burning Valley", discusses the progressive novelist's role in the world today.
Penthouse 10-A 59 West 71 Street
Contribution $1.25
Refreshments

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The Young Socialist Forum is a group of young people who represent different socialist views on the questions facing the world today. **Tuesdays, 8:15 P. M. Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. (nr. 14 St.)**
JULY 30 - NEGROES ON THE MARCH by Mike Brooks, Antioch College Socialist Discussion Club.
AUG. 6 - WORKERS' STRUGGLES IN THE SOVIET UNION Martha Wel's, Young Socialist League (Left Wing). All socialist youth are invited to participate.

SOCIALIST UNITY FORUM invites you to a discussion on the recent events in the Soviet Union. THURSDAY, AUGUST 1. 8 P. M., Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av. Admission Free.

CLASSIFIED

General

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San Francisco

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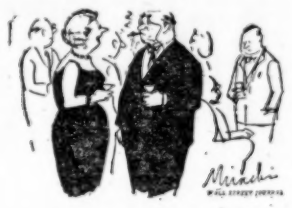

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You know what?

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Against perdition.

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In womb or in playpens
If fallout is allout?

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I Know Where I'm Going
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Sixteen Tons
Follow The Drinking Gourd
When the Saints Go Marching In
I've Got a Home in That Rock
Hush Little Baby
Go Where I Send Thee
Goodnight Irene

the SPECTATOR

Harry Nkumbula

LONDON

WHILE GHANA'S Kwame Nkrumah was sitting around Harold Macmillan's conference table with the other Commonwealth ministers, another tough-minded and politically mature African—Harry Nkumbula of Northern Rhodesia—was placing his people's case before the press in a room at the House of Commons. The attendance was small and mainly left-wing; the lineage in next day's papers, almost zero

This is more or less where Nkrumah came in, and Nkumbula can provide no comfort for those who thought Ghana promised a change of heart by the colonialists. Nkumbula represents 160,000 Africans, including 60,000 women, organized in the African Natl. Congress of Northern Rhodesia, which with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (total African population 6½ million) is being merged in an "independent" Central African Federation dominated by 250,000 white settlers. Between and even within the three areas, African leaders are increasingly prevented from traveling. In London, Colonial Secy. Lennox-Boyd had no time to see Nkumbula and indicated that he should drop dead. This he has no intention of doing, and the message he brought was strong and ominous.

Vicky in London Daily Mirror
Birth of a nation

Introduced by young Labour MP Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Nkumbula reminded us that, ever since the Federation scheme was launched in 1948, Britain had been cynically breaking her 1923 pledge to place African interests first. He had no difficulty explaining this in terms of the copper-mine profits since 1923 and consequent large-scale immigration of white settlers. Today, he said, African miners in Northern Rhodesia averaged $28.50 a month compared with $644 for white miners. Means for Africans to improve themselves and qualify for high income jobs were virtually non-existent.

THE AFRICANS HAD LONG SOUGHT to oppose the imposition of Federation with a moderate proposal of "black and white parity," but were consistently ignored. This year, said Nkumbula, Federation Prime Minister Welensky had put forward such a fantastic franchise plan for "deliberate suppression of the Africans," and received such concessions in London, as to show that "a state not very different from South Africa" was in the works. It was clearly intended "to stop [in Central Africa] such political developments as are taking place in West Africa." Now the Africans would settle for nothing less than full democracy, "one man, one vote."

A new high in colonialist cynicism was reached in a Tory document which used Ghana's achievement of Commonwealth status as an argument for immediate white-supremacy "independence" in Central Africa. The document attacks "African demagogues who are leaders of the African congresses," and fears that these will "mobilize African nationalism against the federal idea" unless their power to appeal to London is finally eliminated before 1960. That is the year when the Federation's constitution is due to be finally agreed—and also when Labour will probably come to power in Britain. The anti-colonialist element in the Labour Party is strong and growing. Said Wedgwood Benn when "demagogue" Nkumbula finished his talk to the newsmen:

"The issue is a simple one between government by consent and government by imposition. Welensky stands on the concept of 'discrimination on grounds of education and financial standing' in his franchise plan to exclude most Africans. I have always understood the British concept of democracy to be that stupid people have a vote and so does Bertrand Russell. That is the meaning of parliamentary government. The terrible warning of Algeria stands before us if we deny to Africans what we demand for ourselves."

—Cedric Belfrage

Drawing by Fred Wright
". . . and another thing—watch out for the plant super. He's liable to pop out anywhere!"